3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
4 64 goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
511 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokwé* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course,
*177 costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[272]
464 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
465 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[273]

[273] [272] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[273] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
[465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
*[177] those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
[562] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão*
• 466 works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accompliahed by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptise" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
465 also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
466 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
177 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33]
furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal cir-
cumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are
determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market"
happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dicker-
ing always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth
would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides
that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will
probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts
payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to
know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple,
essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money,
he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one
of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportun-
ity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become ac-
customed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods
and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given
products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
437 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
438 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but
the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among them-
selves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.